

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 113693

P 201335Z FEB 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2426

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0040

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

EO. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: PROPOSED ADDITION TO DRAFT TEXT (SALT TWO-523)

REF: SALT TWO-522

1. AS MENTIONED IN REFTTEL, WE ARE TRANSMITTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR INSTRUCTIONS THE TEXT OF PROVISIONS FOR AN AGREEMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SOVIET UNION (SALT TWO-524). IN ADDITION TO THE LANGUAGE CONTAINED IN THE TEXT, I RECOMMEND THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO INCORPORATION IN THE TEXT TO BE TABLED WITH THE SOVDELOF THREE PROVISIONS AS SET FORTH BELOW. THESE PROVISIONS IMPLEMENT THE CONCEPT OF "RESTRAINT" WHICH WOULD BE REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE I. I RECOGNIZE THAT THESE PROVISIONS GO SOMEWHAT BEYOND THE STRICT READING OF THE DECEMBER 10 AIDE MEMOIRE AND, WHILE THEY OBVIOUSLY IMPINGE MORE HEAVILY ON THE SOVIETS THAN ON OURSELVES, THEY ARE WORTHWHILE IN THEIR OWN RIGHT, ARE CONSISTENT WITH PAST POSITIONS AND NONE IS AS BLATANTLY ONE SIDED OR AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE AIDEMEMOIRE AS SOME OF THE ITEMS CONTAINED IN THE SOVIET DRAFT. PARA 5 OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE ITSELF CAN BE USED TO JUSTIFY THEIR INTRODUCTION. APART

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FROM THE MERITS OF THE PROPOSALS THEMSELVES, I BELIEVE THAT THEIR

INTRODUCTION WOULD BE A USEFUL NEGOTIATING TACTIC WHICH SHOULD AT THE MINIMUM ASSIST IN OBTAINING THE ELIMINATION OF THOSE ARTICLES IN THE SOVIET DRAFT WHICH WE FIND OBJECTIONABLE.

2. ACCORDINGLY, THE DELEGATION MAKES THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS FOR ADDITIONS TO THE DRAFT TEXT:

A. ARTICLE I. THE SOVIETS IN ARTICLE I OF THEIR FEBRUARY 1, 1975 DRAFT TEXT PROVIDE THAT EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES TO "EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT." PARAGRAPH 5 OF THE US-SOVIET AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974 STATES THAT "A NEW AGREEMENT COULD ALSO PROVIDE FOR ADDITIONAL LIMITATIONS ON DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC ARMS DURING THE PERIOD OF ITS EFFECTIVENESS." TO INTRODUCE THE CONCEPT OF "RESTRAINT" INTO OUR DRAFT, THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE FOR ARTICLE I COULD BE UTILIZED: "EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES TO LIMIT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN THEIR DEPLOYMENT, AND TO ADOPT OTHER MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT."

B. THE FOLLOWING THREE ITEMS ARE SUGGESTED TO IMPLEMENT SUCH AN ARTICLE I:

(1) (ARTICLE IV)- " RESTRAINT" OF MIRV DEPLOYMENT RATES

THE FOLLOWING COULD BE ADDED TO ARTICLE IV TO LIMIT THE RATES AT WHICH MIRVED MISSILES ARE DEPLOYED: "COMMENCING ON JULY 1, 1975, EACH PARTY AGREES TO LIMIT THE CONVERSION OF LAUNCHERS FOR BALLISTIC MISSILES NOT EQUIPPED WITH MIRV SYSTEMS SO AS TO PERMIT THE DEPLOYMENT ON SUCH LAUNCHERS OF BALLISTIC MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRV SYSTEMS, AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL LAUNCHERS FOR BALLISTIC MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRV SYSTEMS, TO A CUMULATIVE ANNUAL RATE NOT TO EXCEED 10 PERCENT OF THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION SET FORTH IN ARTICLE IV."

THIS PROVISION WOULD LIMIT DEPLOYMENT OF MIRVED MISSILES TO A CUMULATIVE ANNUAL TOTAL OF 132. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THIS PROVISION CONFLICTS WITH THE SLBM CLASS COUNTING RULE WHERE A SLBM SUBMARINE OF AN EXISTING CLASS IS EITHER CONVERTED TO  
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LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRV SYSTEMS OR IS INITIALLY DEPLOYED WITH LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRV SYSTEMS.

THE JCS REPRESENTATIVE RECOMMENDS THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL PROVISION BE ADDED TO ARTICLE IV: " EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES TO BAN THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF HEAVY ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVED SYSTEMS." THE JCS REPRESENTATIVE BELIEVES THAT UNLESS THIS ISSUE WAS FORECLOSED AT VLADIVOSTOK, IT HAS MERITS IN ITS OWN RIGHT, WOULD STRENGTHEN THE US

NEGOTIATING POSITION, AND WOULD ASSIST IN CLARIFYING SOVIET ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE MIRV VERIFICATION/ COUNTING RULES.

(2) (ARTICLE V)- UPPER LIMIT ON HEAVY ICBMS

AS A SECOND SUGGESTION RELATING TO DEPLOYMENT RESTRAINT, AN UPPER LIMIT ON THE SIZE OF HEAVY ICBMS COULD BE PROPOSED BY ADDING THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE TO ARTICLE V: " EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST, OR DEPLOY AN ICBM HAVING A VOLUME OR THROW-WEIGHT GREATER THAN THAT OF THE LARGEST HEAVY ICBM DEPLOYED BY EITHER PARTY ON THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THIS AGREEMENT."

THIS PROPOSED PROVISION WOULD PUT AN UPPER LIMIT ON HEAVY ICBMS AT THE SS-18 LEVEL AND WOULD COMPLEMENT THE US PROPOSED DEFINITION OF A HEAVY ICBM WHICH PUTS THE LOWER BOUNDARY OF A HEAVY ICBM AT THE SS-19 LEVEL. THE SOVIETS COULD RESPOND BY PROPOSING THAT SLBMS ALSO BE LIMITED TO THE LARGEST SUCH MISSILE CURRENTLY DEPLOYED AND WITH RESPECT TO ICBMS ARGUING THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD BE LIMITED TO ITS LARGEST ICBM RATHER THAN THE LARGEST ICBM ON EITHER SIDE.

(3) (ARTICLE V) - SUBLIMIT ON SS-17 AND 19 DEPLOYMENT (INSERT AS NEW PARAGRAPH 4)

A THIRD SUGGESTION, CONTAINED IN THE FOLLOWING PARA, WOULD BE TO PROPOSE A LIMITATION OF 600 OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SS-17, 18 AND 19'S. IT DOES NOT CHANGE THE LIMITATION ON HEAVY ICBMS. THEREFORE, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE ALLOWED TO DEPLOY ONLY ABOUT 300 SS-17'S AND 19'S. THE US COULD DEPLOY 600 M-XS OR OTHER ICBMS OF A SIZE SIMILAR TO THE SS-17'S AND 19'S.

" IN ADDITION TO THE LIMITATION IMPOSED BY PARA 2 OF THIS ARTICLE, EACH PARTY ALSO UNDERTAKES NOT TO DEPLOY  
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MORE THAN A TOTAL OF 600 LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS OF A TYPE FIRST DEPLOYED SINCE 1963 AND LAUNCHERS FOR NON- HEAVY ICBMS HAVING A VOLUME OR THROW WEIGHT SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER THAN THE VOLUME OR THROW WEIGHT OF THE LARGEST LIGHT ICBM OF A TYPE OPERATIONAL ON MAY 26, 1972."

THE NEGOTIATING HISTORY SHOULD IDENTIFY THE MISSILES IN QUESTION AS THE SS-17 AND SS-19 AND "SIGNIFICANTLY" AS 10-15PCT.

THE PARAGRAPH USES LANGUAGE TAKEN FROM THE US UNILATERAL STATEMENT OF 1972. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE POSITION THE US HAS TAKEN ON THE SS-17 AND 19 AND INDICATES OUR CONTINUED CONCERN REGARDING THESE MISSILES. IT MAY BE USEFUL EVEN IF NOT FINALLY ADOPTED IN OFFSETTING ARTICLE VII IN THE SOVIET DRAFT TREATY, WHICH LIMITS SLBM LAUNCHERS AND SUBMARINES OF NEW TYPES. IT ALSO PROVIDES FURTHER BASIS FOR EMPHASIZING

THE SS-17, 18 AND 19 IN SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS OF REDUCTIONS.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENT DRAFT, INSTRUCTIONS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 20 FEB 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** SmithRJ  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
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**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 75 SALT TWO-522  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** SmithRJ  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 19 AUG 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19 AUG 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <20 NOV 2003 by SmithRJ>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PROPOSED ADDITION TO DRAFT TEXT (SALT TWO-523)  
**TAGS:** PARM  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006